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ABSTRACT

The nature and extent of religious belief and practice in the South and the relatively great attachment Southerners show to their local communities were described in this paper on Southern culture. Differences in church attendance for the South and non-South were tabulated for various occupations. The general cultural tendency of "localism" was supported by survey data to the extent that when asked to name the person they most admire, Southerners were twice as likely as other Americans to name a relative or someone living in their local community; Southerners were more likely than any other Americans to want their sons to go to college within their own region; and Southerners consistently chose their present state of residence when asked where they would most like to live. It was found that, despite changes in the "technological order" of the South, there was considerable continuity in the "humanistic order." (PS)

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New Problems, Old Resources:

Continuity in Southern Culture *

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Sociologists who have studied the American South have, by and large, been inclined to attribute cultural differences between white Southerners and other Americans to regional differences in occupational structure and economic circumstance.[1] With the economic development and "national incorporation" of the South proceeding apace, advocates of this view seem to be taking it for granted that regional cultural differences are also diminishing--as, of course, many of the most dramatic and visible differences have been.[2] But there is an accumulating body of literature which demonstrates that many, more subtle, regional cultural differences not only remain, but show no signs of going away.[3] This suggests that the orthodox materialist view is (at least) inadequate, and that we must look elsewhere for the explanation of some white Southern peculiarities.

White Southerners are not the only group in America which has surprised our discipline by maintaining its identity and distinctiveness. During the last decade, especially, we have had it called to our attention that many immigrant ethnic groups are still around, and still serve their members both as social contexts and as psychological entities around which sentiments are organized.[4] Add to these observations the fact that many black Americans are beginning to feel that the group identity and cohesiveness forced upon them in the past may actually serve, with modifications, as a valuable resource in the future, and it is not surprising that American sociology has begun to take seriously again the concept of "ethnicity."[5]

With these developments in our discipline, it was perhaps inevitable that some of us would begin to listen to the argument of some historians and journalists: that white Southerners could be regarded fruitfully as an ethnic group, a group serving the same functions for its members and related to the American majority group in much the same way as groups more conventionally called "ethnic": Irish-, Polish-, or Lithuanian-Americans, for instance. Lewis Killian has picked up the argument in his volume, White Southerners, (published in a series called "Ethnic Groups in Comparative Perspective") and I have done the same in a monograph published recently.[6] Analogies are a dime a dozen, of course, but there is already considerable evidence that this is a valuable one. Killian has used it most persuasively to discuss the situation of white Southern migrants to large Northern cities, and it helps to make sense of the large and persistent cultural differences between white Southerners and other Americans--not so much by explaining them as by placing them in a more general category of puzzling phenomena.[7] As seems to be the case for many of these immigrant groups, white Southerners are still, in many respects, different from the "American mainstream" (whatever that may be), they are as different now as they have been at any time in the recent past, and these cultural differences cannot be explained by regional differences in occupational structure and economic circumstance. To paraphrase Irving Babbitt's classic observation about

the Spanish, "There is something Southern about Southerners which causes them to behave in a Southern manner." The educated, urban, factory-working Southerner remains. . . a Southerner, and that datum often tells us as much about him, his tastes, values, and habits, as any of the others.

These findings are of some theoretical importance. They suggest that the secondary or "technological" order and the primary or "humanistic" order (as the editors of a forthcoming symposium have called them) can be more disjoint than many have supposed.[8] The citizen of the New South may spend forty hours a week at a job indistinguishable from those held by other Americans, but, it appears, he will spend nearly twice as many waking hours in a family and community organized around sentiments and presuppositions somewhat different from those held elsewhere.[9] Students of the South who are concerned about their subject matter's evaporating can turn with profit to the study of these persisting sentiments and presuppositions.

The disjunction between work and "life" (to put the matter baldly, and perhaps badly) is not absolute, of course--merely greater than some demographers and economists have implied. Certainly industrialization will affect Southern culture (it already has, in many obvious ways). No less important are the effects of Southern culture on the course and outcome of industrialization.[10]

To one who feels that we really do not know what "Southern culture" is, much less what it is likely to be (and those who share my prejudice in favor of replicable, comparative, and preferably quantitative documentation must feel this way), it seems premature to discuss the relation between that culture and industrialization. None the less, of the aspects of Southern culture which can be demonstrated to exist and to be persisting, two in particular strike me as pertinent to this relation: the peculiar nature and extent of religious belief and practice in the South, and the relatively great attachment Southerners show to their local communities. I have examined each extensively in my own work, but since these analyses have been reported elsewhere, I propose merely to summarize some of the findings and then to consider what the persistence of these traits implies for the future of the South.[11]

Religion in Southern Culture

In this century, one of the most remarkable differences between the South and the rest of the United States, has been the endemic and pervasive religiosity of the former. Nearly every student of the South has commented on this feature of Southern life, and many have argued its central importance to an understanding of that life.[12]

Some of the findings from the public opinion poll data are:

> Nearly ninety percent of all white Southerners identify themselves as Protestant, and nearly four

out of every five of these are Baptist, Methodist, or Presbyterian.

Regardless of denomination, apparently, Southern Protestants are more orthodox in their beliefs than are non-Southern Protestants. Despite this, there are a number of indications that they take denominational distinctions more seriously.

Southern Protestants are nearly twice as likely as non-Southern Protestants to assert that church-going is an essential part of the Christian life, and they are in fact more likely to be found in church on any given Sunday.

Southern Protestants are less likely than Protestants elsewhere to feel that religion is irrelevant to the modern world, and they are more likely to feel that no changes are needed in their churches.

The picture of the South which emerges from these data is of a society which takes religion seriously. A high degree of consensus on fundamentals permits heated disagreement on relatively minor points of faith and practice. Southerners are basically satisfied with their churches, and support them accordingly: religious institutions play an important role in the social and spiritual life of the South.

Some recent work has shown that regional differences on these basic questions of belief and of support for the institutional church have not become smaller in the recent past, and they are not likely to do so in the near future. In particular, when trend data are available, they often show change in these respects, in the South and elsewhere, but the differences between South and non-South are no smaller now than a generation ago, despite the massive changes in Southerners' material circumstances in that period. When statistical controls for education, occupation, and urban-rural residence are introduced (to ensure that the observed regional differences are not due to differences in these factors), nearly all of these differences remain, and a few become even more pronounced. Some regional differences in what may be called "para-religious" beliefs and practices--anti-Semitism, anti-Catholicism, support for national prohibition, and the like--may be decreasing (although much remains), but the data strongly suggest that the religion of the New South will be as vigorous and as distinctive as that of the old.

Detailed analysis of patterns of religiosity within the South and non-South helps show why this should be so. The Gallup Poll has frequently asked its respondents whether they had been to church in the previous week. By pooling the responses to several of these surveys we can look at the churchgoing behavior of relatively small subpopulations within the Southern and non-Southern populations. Considered in the aggregate, Southern Protestants are more likely to report that they have been to church lately than are their non-Southern coreligionists.

Table 1 shows, however, that this difference is smallest--slightly reversed, in fact--for a group which is shrinking rapidly in the South, the uneducated farm population. Many of these people are moving into blue-collar occupations in Southern cities, a move which does not seem to carry with it a diminution of churchgoing. Outside the South, urban blue-collar workers are among the people least likely to be reached by the churches; in the South, they are as likely to be churchgoers as are their country cousins. Among the rural groups and possibly among the urban as well, increasing education not only increases churchgoing (both in the South and elsewhere), but also the regional difference in churchgoing.

Another interesting difference between South and non-South is evident at the top of the urban occupational ladder. In non-Southern cities, as Table 2 shows, business and professional people are less likely to be churchgoers than are their white-collar employees. In Southern cities, however, that pattern is reversed: the "leadership classes" in Southern cities are one of the most churchgoing groups in the region. Indeed (for Protestants outside of Calvin's Geneva) their churchgoing is extraordinary by any standard.

The prophet Amos foretold a day when many should "wander from sea to sea, and from the north even to the east," seeking the word of the Lord, in vain. In these latter days, the way-faring stranger would be well-advised to forsake the secular North, abjure the mysterious East, and check out the South. He will find gas station signs like the one in my town, advertising on one side "REGULAR 299" and on the other "WHEN YOU HAVE SINNED/READ PSALM 51." In the South, one can still both save and be saved.

"Particularism" in Southern Culture

Drawing on her extensive field experience, Marion Pearsall has asserted that "in Southern Appalachia and the rest of the South, it is the concreteness of life that is valued, the particular locations and the particular possessions."[13] And, it might be added, the particular persons, for there appears to be a general cultural tendency here, toward what sociologists call particularism, a disinclination to see persons, places, or things as interchangeable.[14] A particularistic orientation causes persons to be seen as complex beings, existing in their own right, not merely as performers of specialized roles in interaction with the observer. Material objects are imbued with associations which are not transferable to functionally equivalent objects. And, importantly, places are also regarded holistically and affectively: when applied to places, particularism is evident as what Robert Merton has called localism.[15]

Many observers have remarked that Southerners show a peculiar attachment to their homeplaces, and the survey data support these observations.[16] A few scattered indicators:

Table 1

Churchgoing of Southern and Non-Southern Urban Blue-Collar and Rural Farm Populations (Protestants Only)

% who went to church the previous Sunday

	South	Non-South	Difference (South)-(Non-South)
Rural farm, high school graduates	60%	49%	11
(N)	(148)	(386)	
Rural farm, not high school graduates	43%	46%	-3
(N)	(507)	(601)	
Urban unskilled labor, not high school graduates	41%	20%	21
(N)	(160)	(419)	
Urban skilled labor, not high school graduates	37%	29%	8
(N)	(150)	(328)	
Urban labor (skilled & unskilled), high school graduates	47%	31%	16
(N)	(186)	(656)	

Source: Pooled data from eight Gallup polls conducted between February 1955 and December 1963.

Table 2

Churchgoing of Southern and Non-Southern Urban White Collar and Urban Business-Professional Populations (Protestant High School Graduates Only)

% who went to church the previous Sunday

	South	Non-South	Difference (South)-(Non-South)
Business and professional	65%	38%	27
(N)	(225)	(890)	
White collar	48%	46%	2
(N)	(80)	(465)	

Source: Pooled data from eight Gallup polls conducted between February 1955 and December 1963.

When asked what person they most admire, Southerners are twice as likely as other Americans to name a relative or someone living in their local community.

When asked where they would most like to see a son go to college, Southerners are more likely than any other Americans (except New Englanders) to name a school within their own region. Two-thirds do so, despite the objectively low quality of Southern institutions. (Only 3% of non-Southerners chose Southern schools.)

When Southerners are asked where they would most like to live, they have consistently (since the question was first asked in 1939) been more likely than other Americans to choose their present state of residence. (Nearly three-quarters did so in 1963.)

These differences (and, we may assume, the underlying difference in localism which they indicate) have not changed appreciably in the recent past, and there is every reason to suppose that they will be with us for some time to come. Straightforward projection of the trend data indicates as much, as do statistical controls for education, occupation, and urban-rural residence, which reduce the regional differences only slightly.

Not only is the absolute level of localism in the South different from that elsewhere, its correlates are different as well. Localism might be expected to be particularly characteristic of rural and small-town folk. Table 3 shows the responses to a Gallup Poll question (pooled from three occasions on which it was asked) which taps one aspect of what we mean by "localism": a tendency to find one's models for behavior and belief close to home. If we may judge by this table, only in the South is it true that "cosmopolitanism" is primarily a big-city phenomenon. Outside the South, most people are fairly "cosmopolitan" regardless of their social location. In this case, the largest regional differences are to be found among the rural and small-town populations, but note that regional differences do persist among at least some urban groups.

"There are kinds and kinds of provincialism," Thomas Wolfe wrote in his notes. "New England is provincial and doesn't know it, the Middle West is provincial, and knows it, and is ashamed of it, but, God help us, the South is provincial, knows it, and doesn't care." If "provincialism" means local loyalty and a deference to local opinion, it appears that Southerners <u>are</u> relatively provincial, and will likely remain so. A dash of provincialism is not necessarily shameful, however. It may even figure in the South's redemption.

<u>The New South: The Old Culture</u>

The South's challenge in this century has been to convert

Table 3

Localism of Various Southern and Non-Southern Population Groups

% naming family member or local figure as "man . . . most admired"

	South	Non-South	Difference (South)-(Non-South)
Rural farm, not high school graduates	29%	20%	9
(N)	(300)	(343)	
Rural farm, high school graduates	40%	13%	27
(N)	(90)	(211)	
Town, blue collar high school graduates	38%	17%	21
(N)	(45)	(199)	
Town, white collar high school graduates	13%	10%	3
(N)	(38)	(84)	
Town, business and professional high school graduates	26%	12%	14
(N)	(73)	(200)	
Urban, blue collar high school graduates	27%	18%	9
(N)	(104)	(581)	
Urban, white collar high school graduates	6%	14%	-8
(N)	(54)	(361)	
Urban, business and professional high school graduates	20%	15%	5
(N)	(104)	(704)	

Source: Pooled data from Gallup polls conducted in 1958, 1963, and 1965. The question asked: "What man that you have heard or read about, living today in any part of the world, do you admire the most?" Codes differed somewhat on different surveys. See Reed, The Enduring South, p. 36.

its great endowment of natural resources into material well-being for its people. "The paradox of the South," a government commission observed in 1938, "is that while it is blessed by Nature with immense wealth, its people as a whole are the poorest in the country."[17] Much of the

political, entrepreneurial, and intellectual energy of the region has been devoted to resolving this paradox, and as we have seen, these efforts have largely succeeded.

Yet thoughtful Southerners have always looked "beyond the fleshpots" to the social and cultural implications of economic development, and the problems waiting there are no less daunting than the economic problems now being overcome.[18] These new problems have been previewed for us by the literature and social commentary of the more developed and industrialized sections of the United States: anomie, depersonalization, loss of community, alienation, the "problem" of leisure . . . . Southerners have not been insensitive to the possibility that, in gaining the world, they may lose much of value: certainly one of the most scathing critiques of industrial society ever mounted was the work of Southerners, the Vanderbilt "Agrarians," whose analysis moved some of them to reject industrialization altogether.[19]

Most of the Agrarians' contemporaries, however, confronted with obvious and insistent problems of poverty, bigotry, ignorance, and disease, seem to have felt that the evil of the day was sufficient thereto, and that the problems of industrial society could be addressed when the South had achieved an industrial society to generate them. Since 1930, Southerners have overwhelmingly voted with their dollars to reject the Agrarian position--probably without ever seriously considering it--and as a program it is now (if it ever was not) academic, in the sense of the word which means "irrelevant."[20]

Yet the questions which the Agrarians raised were valid ones. The benefits of industrialization are already evident: in the pay envelopes of Southern workers, in the statistics of magazine circulation, in public health reports, in state budgets for higher education, in nearly every census statistic. Is there reason to suppose that we shall escape the <u>unpleasant</u> consequences?

I think there may be. Southern religion, for all its shortcomings, will no doubt continue to provide individual Southerners with a needed sense of transcendence and personal worth--a sense difficult otherwise to maintain in a society increasingly estranged from nature, in which the individual "objectively" counts for less each day. The rootedness and sense of community evident in Southern culture will also be a valuable asset, serving to offset the possibly disintegrative effects of Southerners' new modes of earning their livings. The Southern tradition of personalism (and that of good manners in secondary interaction) may serve to take off the edges of the New South and reduce the petty and seemingly pointless day-to-day annoyances which I suspect are the real reason many Southerners dislike the Northeast.[21]

Industrialization is not disruptive only of individual psyches, of course. If the cities of the New South are not to become examples of "Southern efficiency and Northern charm" (to borrow John Kennedy's characterization of Washington, D. C.), their citizens must have the will and the wherewithal to make them otherwise.[22] Here again, their

culture may prove an asset. If the South is to assimilate and to domesticate industrialism, much of the impetus will probably come from what we have been calling "localism." One need not be a thoroughgoing Burkean to believe that public spirit is most often anchored in affection for kin and community. A man who loves his town and its idiosyncracies and who cares what his neighbors think will probably be a better citizen than one whose concern with his community ends with the convenience and services it provides for him. If Southern localism can find expression in boosterism of the crassest and most undiscriminating sort (as when a Chamber of Commerce official boasts that Charlotte's "topless" clubs attract "an estimated 5000 people from other towns across the Carolinas and Virginia . . . every day"), it may also have something to do with the pioneering historic preservation work of Charleston and Savannah, with the recent determination of many communities to make school desegregation work, and with the unsung efforts of hundreds of thousands of Southerners to make their towns and cities better places to live.[23]

It is a sociological truism, of course, that good intentions are insufficient without facilitating institutional arrangements, but I believe the South is fortunate in this respect as well: it has its remarkable churches. The sins of the Southern churches have been and are many, sins both of commission and (notably) of omission, but many Southerners who feel that the churches could use a good reformation are nevertheless profoundly grateful that there is something there to be reformed: as a resource for Southern communities and for the region as a whole, the churches may well prove to be invaluable. For whatever reason, Southern churches have been more concerned with the Fall of Man than with the rise of industrialism and (as my colleague Dick Simpson put it) more with the next world than with the Third World. If choices must be made, one observer, at least, would not quarrel with these, but there are encouraging signs that many Southern churchmen are beginning to feel that churches as mighty as theirs can and should be concerned with more. The energies and assets at the disposal of Southern churches are immense, and--as Southerners become wealthier--are increasing. Although much has been dissipated in the past (in ostentatious building programs, for instance; in ill-considered anti-liquor campaigns; or, lately, in bigoted misadventures in parochial education), the good works of Southern churches have been many, and can be expected to increase in both scope and depth. The region is blessed indeed to have a tradition of voluntary and relatively selfless contribution to what is seen as community well-being, and to have a working institutional mechanism for it.

As the South was endowed by Nature with the resources to meet the fundamentally economic problems of this century, its history may have given it the basis for working solutions to some of the problems of the next. It is apparent that, despite heroic changes in the "technological order" of the South, there is considerable continuity in the "humanistic order," and it appears that some aspects of the latter will serve to meliorate and to modify the effects of the former. If the South has not accepted John Crowe Ransom's advice to "accept industrialism, but with a very bad grace, and . . . maintain a good

deal of her traditional philosophy," it has at least not modeled itself entirely on the urban Northeast, and much of what has been preserved may serve Southerners well in the future.[24]

Notes

[1]By no means a new observation, this was remarked, for instance, by Rudolf Heberle, "Regionalism: Some Critical Observations," Social Forces, XXI (March 1943), 280-286. Compare J. S. Reed, The Enduring South: Subcultural Persistence in Mass Society (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath, Lexington Books, 1972).

[2]See, for example, John C. McKinney and Linda Brookover Bourque, "The Changing South: National Incorporation of a Region," American Sociological Review, XXXVI (June 1971), 399-412; or Leonard Reissman, "Social Development and the American South," Journal of Social Issues, XXII (January 1966), 101-116. For a summary of some data on vanishing differences, see J. S. Reed "Continuing Distinctiveness in Southern Culture," University of North Carolina News Letter, LV (December 1970).

[3]E. g., Alfred C. Hero, Jr., The Southerner and World Affairs (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965); Norval D. Glenn, "Massification versus Differentiation: Some Trend Data from National Surveys," Social Forces, XLVI (December 1967), 172-180; idem. and J. L. Simmons, "Are Regional Cultural Differences Diminishing?" Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXI (Summer 1967), 176-193; Reed, "Continuing Distinctiveness"; idem., The Enduring South.

[4]An early reminder was Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1963).

[5]L. Paul Metzger, "American Sociology and Black Assimilation: Conflicting Perspectives," American Journal of Sociology, LXXVI (January 1971), 627-646. See also Nathan Glazer, "Blacks and Ethnic Groups: The Difference and the Political Difference it Makes," Social Problems, XVIII (Spring 1971), 444-461.

[6]White Southerners (New York: Random House, 1970); The Enduring South. See also Raymond W. Mack, "Is the White Southerner Ready for Equality?" in The Changing South (n.p.: Aldine Publishing Company, Trans-action Books, 1970), 9-20.

[7]White Southerners, 91-119.

[8]The symposium, on community and identity in the modern South, will be edited by Harold Kaufman and J. K. Morland. I tried, in The Enduring South, to address the problem which the finding of cultural continuity in the face of economic change poses for social theory, and several of the chapters in George Dalton, ed., Economic Development and Social Change (Garden City, N. Y.: Natural History Press, 1971), are also relevant. Although this article deals more with the consequences of subcultural persistence in the South than with its causes, one might surmise that the effects on an existing culture of importing a "mature" industrialization--in which workers spend more waking hours off the

job than on and in which other values compete with short-run efficiency in the managerial calculus--are different from those of an indigenous industrial revolution. Another difference between Southern and non-Southern industrialization--perhaps due to the same factor--is structural: Southern industrialization has not generated as large a middle class. (Glaucio Ary Dillon Soares, "Economic Development and Class Structure," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset, Class, Status, and Power, 2nd. ed. [New York: The Free Press, 1966], p. 198.)

[9]Even the hours on the job may be different, of course. The primary work group has been rediscovered so many times that its importance should be taken as axiomatic by now. See, for example, Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations: A Comparative Approach (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962), pp. 87-115.

[10]William H. Nicholls, Southern Tradition and Regional Progress (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), argues the incompatibility between some aspects of Southern culture and American industrialism.

[11]Glen Elder and I are presently conducting a program of research which, we hope, will help meet the immediate need, mentioned above, of documentation. The data reported and discussed below, however, are taken entirely from The Enduring South, chapters four and six.

[12]See, for example, the essays in Samuel S. Hill, Jr., ed., Religion and the Solid South (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972). The taxpayers of my adopted state would be gratified to learn that one of the first things I noticed when I came to their state university from a Northern graduate school was how many undergraduates, graduate students, and even faculty members were practicing churchmen. A recent Gallup Poll confirms my impression. Southern college students are much more likely than their non-Southern peers to agree that "organized religion [is] a relevant part of [their] life at the present time" and that "religion can answer all or most of today's problems." Southern college students were the only regional group in which a majority agreed with either statement. ("Religion in America, 1971," The Gallup Opinion Index, Report No. 70 [April 1971], pp. 52-53.)

[13]"Communicating with the Educationally Deprived," Mountain Life and Work, XLII, 1 (1966), p.10.

[14]Talcott Parsons, The Social System (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1951), pp. 61-63 et passim. Cf. Florence F. Kluckhohn and Fred L. Strodtbeck, Variations in Value Orientations (Evanston, Illinois: Row, Peterson, 1961), pp. 1-48.

[15]Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Rev. ed. (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1957), pp. 392 ff.

[16]This Southern localism is beginning to be reflected in migration statistics. It is probably well-known by now that the decade of the sixties showed, for the first time in this century, a net white in-migration to the South. It may not be so well-known that a very large proportion of the in-migration was return migration of the Southern-born who had left the region, presumably to follow economic opportunity elsewhere. The demographic characteristics of these migrants (relatively well-educated, well-off urban or suburban folk) make it clear that homesickness is not exclusively a property of the audiences for country music.

[17]National Emergency Council, Report on Economic Conditions in the South (Washington, D. C.: 1938), p. 8.

[18]See, for instance, Rupert B. Vance, "Beyond the Fleshpots: The Coming Culture Crisis in the South," Virginia Quarterly Review, XLI (Spring 1965), pp. 217-230.

[19]Twelve Southerners, I'll Take My Stand: The South and the Agrarian Tradition (New York: Harper & Brothers, Harper Torchbook, 1962--first published 1930); Donald Davidson, The Attack on Leviathan: Regionalism and Nationalism in the United States (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1938).

[20]The continuing relevance of the Agrarian critique (as opposed to their program) was recently emphasized by Edwin M. Yoder, Jr., in "The Greening of the South," Book World, 4 July 1971, p. 7.

[21]That much of the old Southern culture has been psychologically functional--as well as simply pleasant--for many who shared in it is, of course, implicit in the writings of the Agrarians. For a good statement of the case, see the article by their colleague Richard M. Weaver, "The Regime of the South," National Review, 14 March 1959, pp. 587-589.

[22]Joel L. Fleishman argues that there is still time, although only a generation at the most, to bring the South's urban-industrial development under control and prevent "a growth which will shape our cities in the same patterns with the same problems, plunging us into the same moral and physical discomfiture as cities to which we are, or have recently been superior." ("The Southern City: Northern Mistakes in Southern Settings," in H. Brandt Ayers and Thomas H. Naylor, You can't Eat Magnolias [New York: McGraw-Hill,]1972 .)

[23]The Charlotte official is quoted by Harvey Harris, in "Censorship in Respectable Disguise," Greensboro Daily News, 19 December 1971, p. C-1.

[24]Ransom, "Reconstructed but Unregenerate," in I'll Take My Stand, p. 22.